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EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1,6)

DATE 02-14-2011

10/10

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

REPORTING OFFICE SAN FRANCISCO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN SAN FRANCISCO	DATE 10/3/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 2/17/68 - 9/30/68
TITLE OF CASE RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.		REPORT MADE BY EDWARD J. O'FLYNN	TYPED BY cg

9/27/64  
SPL CLK/BM  
CLASSIFIED BY: ~~SPL CLK/BM~~  
DECLASSIFY ON: ~~DAIR~~

# 2091641-001

5668 8/10/68  
1-14-68  
PSC A only

IS-C

REGISTRATION ACT

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED

BY DEPARTMENTAL REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)

DATE: 5-13-85

REFERENCE: Report of SA EDWARD J. O'FLYNN dated 6/16/68 at San Francisco. 5/14/68 CA#02-0603

## ADMINISTRATIVE:

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DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1-6

(S) This report is classified "SECRET" as information accredited to SF T-21. is information received from

(S)  classified secret. 6-30-30

CLASS & EXT. BY ~~SP3DB~~ 8/10/68

REASON-FCIM 11 1 2 4 2 2 3

DATE OF REVIEW 10-3-88

157-459-344

## SOURCES:

SF T-1

SF T-2

(protect)

157-459-326, 331, 345, 351, 361

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## ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED

SPECIAL AGENT  
IN CHARGEACQUIT-  
TALS

CASE HAS BEEN:

PENDING OVER ONE YEAR  YES  NOPENDING PROSECUTION  
OVER SIX MONTHS  YES  NO

APPROVED

CMB

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

5 - Bureau (100-445393) (RM)  
 2 - Los Angeles (100-68155) (RM)  
 2 - Denver (100-9382) (RM)  
 1 - New York (157-1300) (RM)  
 3 - San Francisco (157-459)

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by Letter 1/16/68

100-445393-140 REC 44

EX-103

OCT 7 1968

REC 74

EX-102

## Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Notations:

Agency	R&O (ISD), ACSI, ONI, OSI	CIA
Request Recd.		
Date Fwd.	10/11/68	11/7/68
How Fwd.	RIS	RIS

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by Letter 12-9-75

Per FOIA Request

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IC 922 by Letter 12-30-75

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No. SF 157-459

October 3, 1968

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Title : RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.

Character : INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
REGISTRATION ACT

Reference : Report of SA EDWARD J. O'FLYNN  
dated and captioned as above a  
San Francisco, California.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities  
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable  
information in the past.

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This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property  
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SOURCES continued:

SF T-10

SF T-11

SF T-12

SF T-13

SF T-14

SF T-15

SF T-16

SF T-17

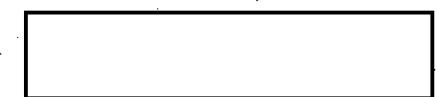
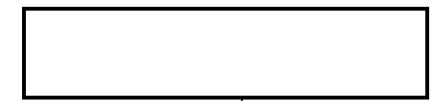
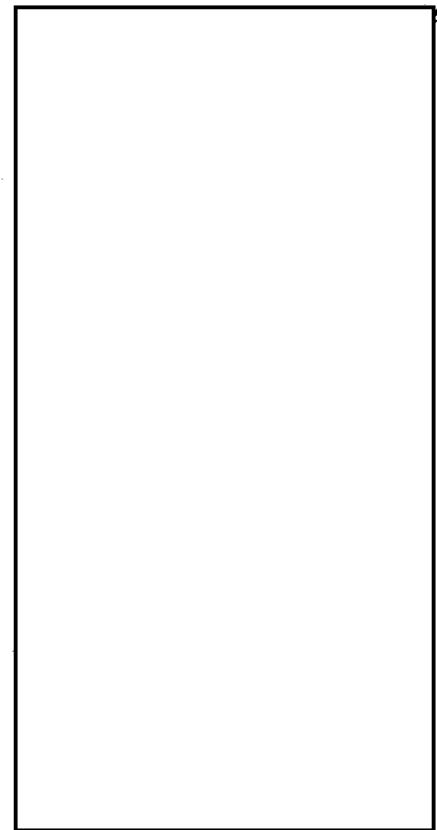
SF T-18

SF T-19

SF T-20

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SOURCES continued:

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SOURCES Continued:

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~~SF T-34~~

[redacted]

~~SF T-35~~

~~SF T-36~~

~~SF T-37~~

Special Agents who provided information utilized  
in this report are identified as follows:

Date of Activity

5/21/65

Special Agent

SA

[redacted] et al b6  
b7C

10/15/65

SA

6/20/43

SA HUGH M. ANDERSON

LEADS:

\*\*LOS ANGELES

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AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: Attempt to ascertain through

from SF T-5 on 1/24/68

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DENVER

AT BOULDER, COLORADO: Maintain contact with [redacted]  
[redacted]

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK: An information copy is being furnished to New York because Ramparts maintains an office in New York City and much of the investigation regarding funds has concerned New York banks.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:

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EXEMPTION CODE: 25X(1,6)

DATE 02-14-2011

FBI INFORMATION ONLY

Copy to:

Report of:  
Date:

EDWARD J. O'FLYNN  
10/3/68

Office: SAN FRANCISCO

Field Office File #:

157-459

Bureau File #: 100-445393

Title:  
5/14/68

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INCORPORATED

B7a/CJS 9/27/84

CLASSIFIED BY SP1 CLK/AM  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1/6  
CA#02-0603

CLASSIFIED BY: ~~MULTIPLE SOURCES~~  
DECLASSIFY ON: ~~OADR~~

Character:  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
REGISTRATION ACT

# 209641-001  
5668 1-20-84 pg 20, 31, 45  
# 18-84

Synopsis: Ramparts Magazine, Inc., with 72,300 shares of \$10 par value outstanding obtained approval of California Commissioner of Corporations on 7/17/68 to issue an additional 122,000 shares. Subscriptions declined from 128,899 for January, 1968 issue to 76,856 for 8/24/68 issue. In letter to subscribers dated 5/1/68 announcing change to bi-weekly publication Ramparts claimed 230,000 circulation. In 3/13/68 news article Editor HINCKLE quoted as stating Ramparts list \$1.5 million to reach circulation of 250,000 due to lack of advertising support. Financial contributors identified and loans to Ramparts reported. Editorial and office staffs listed and subversive affiliations set forth.

REFERRAL DOCUMENT  
- P - dlp POI/PA # 209641-001

APPEAL #

CIVIL ACT. #

E.O. #

DATE 9/27/84 INITIALS (CJS)

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED  
BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)  
DATE: 5-15-85  
APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) BY XCL  
DATE 7-2-80  
82-0382  
pgs. 20, 31/45  
Appeal  
DATE

- P -

6-30-80  
CLASS. & EXT. BY SP3 DD/rg  
REASON-FCIM P. 1-24.2 1-2  
DATE OF REVIEW 10-3-98

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GROUP

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

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APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD  
OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP  
ON 6/16/85 command 5/10/86.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

Referral/Consult

SF 157-459.  
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DETAILS:

PREDICATION

This investigation was initiated to determine if Ramparts Magazine, Inc. is in violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938 in that it has not registered with the Attorney General and may currently be engaged in acts of distribution of propaganda, acting as a political agent, collecting information, forwarding information, etc., while acting as the agent of a foreign principal.

I. ORIGIN, SCOPE AND GENERAL ACTIVITIES

A. History and Corporate Structure

Stockholders and Stock Transfers:

The records of the California Division of Corporations, 1470 Mission Street, San Francisco, were reviewed by Special Agent EDWARD J. O'FLYNN on April 30, 1968. File Number 92365 on "Ramparts" magazine reflected the following information which was added to the file since the prior review of these records on February 7, 1968.

A petition was filed on February 19, 1968 requesting a change in Escrow holder of "Ramparts" stock, from Gerald C. Vanoli, attorney of San Jose to William D. Evers, attorney, San Francisco.

An application to sell and issue securities was filed on March 27, 1968 which stated that there were 145,100 shares of "Ramparts" stock issued and outstanding. This application proposed the issuance of 7,900 additional shares in cancellation of indebtedness owed by "Ramparts" and the issuance of 2,500 shares for cash.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Shares</u>	<u>Indebtedness</u>
HELEN HECK	2,500	\$25,000
ABIGAIL ROCKEFELLER	2,500	25,000
STANELY SHEINBAUM	2,400	24,000
NICHOLAS SAMSTAG	500	5,000
	<u>7,900</u>	<u>\$79,000</u>

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Issuance of 2,500 shares for cash to ABIGAIL ROCKEFELLER was requested. The recipients of this requested issuance of stock were described as follows:

HELEN HECK,  
61 Jane Street  
New York, New York

ABIGAIL ROCKEFELLER,  
16 Lexington Avenue  
Cambridge, Massachusetts

STANLEY SHEINBAUM,  
Center for the Study of Democratic  
Institutions, Santa Barbara, California.

NICHOLAS SAMSTAG,  
717 - 5th Avenue  
New York City,  
formerly of Time-Life Magazine Co.

The records of the Commissioner of Corporations, State of California, 1470 Mission Street, San Francisco, California, were reviewed on July 25, 1968. Commissioner of Corporations File Number 92365-SF on "Ramparts" Magazine contained an application filed by "Ramparts" on June 26, 1968, requesting authorization to issue an additional 122,000 shares of stock at par value of \$10 per share. This petition reported that 40,800 of the 72,300 shares voted in favor of amending the articles of the Corporation to authorize the issuance of this additional capital stock.

The Commissioner of Corporations approved the above described petition and in an order dated July 17, 1968, removed the Escrow requirements for "Ramparts" stock certificates. The stock certificates issued by "Ramparts" continued to be restricted as to transfer as every certificate contains an imprinted legend which notifies the holder that it is unlawful to sell or transfer that certificate without receiving the prior written consent of the Commissioner of Corporations, State of California.

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B. Circulation and Distribution:

A summary Statement of Income and Expenses for the period of July through November, 1967, filed by "Ramparts" with the Commissioner of Corporations, State of California on March 27, 1968 contained the following Circulation Statistics:

<u>Month</u>	<u>Subscribers</u>	<u>Single Copies Sold</u>	<u>Press Run</u>
July, 1967	121,025	81,287	300,000
August, 1967	123,084	81,170	295,000
September, 1967	116,554	86,942	300,000
October, 1967	123,617	78,216	280,875
November, 1967	130,455	77,879	295,000

(u) ~~X~~ Source who has access to accurate subscription data advised that the number of subscription copies mailed by "Ramparts" during the period of July through November, 1967, was as follows:

July, 1967	113,981
August, 1967	No issue printed.
September, 1967	122,515
October, 1967	113,601
November, 1967	105,137
December, 1967	100,199

[SF T-2  
August &  
December, 1967.] *4* *v*

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(u) X [Source advised] that the 1968 circulation trend of "Ramparts" Magazine is as follows:

<u>Month</u>	<u>Subscriptions Mailed</u>
January, 1968	128,899
February, 1968	126,119
March, 1968	(Unavailable)
April, 1968	123,433
May, 1968	133,004
June, 1968	118,720
July, 1968 - 1st issue	89,399
July, 1968 - 2nd issue	83,965
August, 1968 - 1st issue	80,012
August, 1968 - 2nd issue	76,856
	173,364
	156,868

(u) X [Source advised] that circulation trend of "Ramparts" is definitely downward following its change to a fortnightly publication which in all probability is due to the increased subscription rate.

[SF T-2  
8/30/68.] P u

A "Ramparts" letter to subscribers dated May 1, 1968, claimed that it was the largest left of center magazine in the history of the U.S., and has grown in three years from 30,000 to 230,000 circulation. It stated that "Ramparts" had a problem of capital investment and did not have the support of advertisers. It, therefore, solicited the support of individual subscribers to maintain its character of an independent publication. It

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announced an increase in subscription rate from \$8.50 a year to \$15.00 with publication twice as often or bi-weekly instead of monthly.

[SF T-3  
5/16/68.] 4u

C. Funds:

A balance sheet prepared on January 12, 1968, and a Statement of Income and Expenses, was submitted by "Ramparts" Magazine to the Commissioner of Corporations, State of California, on April 30, 1968. These Statements read as follows:

Balance Sheet Prepared 1/12/68

Assets

Cash (64,278.08)

Accounts Receivable

Subscriber	50,775.95
Less Reserve for Bad Debts	<u>3,543.32</u>
	47,232.63
Newsstand Distribution	44,532.10
Advertising	30,042.33
List Rental	25,294.43
Other	<u>34,766.12</u>
Total Accounts Receivable	181,867.61
Add costs to be Reimbursed	4,915.15
Prepaid Expenses	41,622.39
Magazine inventory	970.25
Furniture & Fixtures	18,824.98
Less Reserve for Deprec.	<u>4,180.48</u>
Deposits	14,644.50
Subscriber List	2,000.00
Other Assets	131,179.15
Total Assets	15,833.34
	\$328,754.31

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Estimated Liabilities	13,300.00
Accounts Payable	201,199.20
Payroll Taxes Payable	10,176.09
Notes & Loans Payable	734,680.66
Accrued Interest Payable	13,474.84
Deferred Subscription Income	318,625.25
Total Liabilities	<u>\$1,291,456.04</u>

NET WORTH

Capital Stock	1,060,500.00
Paid in Surplus	36,000.00
Earned Surplus (deficit)	1,785,984.12
Profit (Loss) for this Fiscal Year	<u>273,217.61</u>
	328,754.31

Summary of Income and Expenses  
for July, August, September, October, and  
November 1967

	July	August/Sept.	October	Nov.	Dec.
<u>Income</u>	\$117,659	\$70,697	\$87,160	\$90,846	\$157,761
<u>Expenses</u>	\$142,097	\$147,155	\$147,062	\$150,394	\$230,633
<u>Operating Loss</u>	(\$24,438)	(\$76,458)	(\$59,902)	(\$59,548)	(\$72,872)

<u>Non-Operating Income</u>	\$20,000	---	---	---	---
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<u>Net Loss</u>	\$4,438	\$76,458	\$59,902	\$59,548	\$72,872
-----------------	---------	----------	----------	----------	----------

Circulation Statistics

Press run	300,000	295,000	300,000	280,875	295,000
Subscribers	121,025	123,084	116,554	123,617	130,455
Single copies distributed	157,712	157,995	169,019	152,869	152,033
Single copies sold	81,287	81,170	86,942	78,216	77,879

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	<u>July</u>	<u>August/Sept.</u>	<u>Oct.</u>	<u>Nov.</u>	<u>Dec.</u>
<u>Total Paid Circulation</u>	202,312	204,254	203,496	201,833	203,547
<u>Cost per Copy Printed</u> (total expenses less promotion divided by press run)	40.4¢	45.8¢	44.1¢	46.4¢	54.6¢
<u>Operating expenses</u>	\$142,097	\$147,155	\$147,062	\$150,394	\$230,633

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The March 13, 1968, issue of the San Francisco Chronicle contained an article captioned "Money Problems, Ramparts Asks Readers For Help" which read in its entirety as follows:

"The fate of Ramparts Magazine, the controversial San Francisco-based monthly, hung in the balance yesterday, with its survival dependent for the most part on the generosity of some 125,000 subscribers.

"Marc Stone, a spokesman for the 6-year-old publication, said a telegram had been sent to each subscriber over the weekend asking for \$10 or more to release March subscription copies held in a Denver storage room.

"The first response to our telegram has been gratifying, Stone told The Chronicle in a phone call from New York where editors are trying to drum up new financial support. But whether it can tide us over remains to be seen.

#### BILLS

"To get the March issue to subscribers, The Chronicle learned, the muckraking journal needs some \$12,000 to pay Neodata Services, Inc., of Boulder, Colo., which handles its subscription list. The sum is for postage and past servicing bills.

"The magazine, published in San Francisco but printed in Denver by Smith-Brooks Publishing Company, also owes 'well over \$200,000' for printing, the head of Smith-Brooks told The Chronicle.

"They may get the March issue out but we're not going to tackle another one until they're well out of the hole with us, said Fred Vessels, the firm's president.

#### LOSSES

"Previously, Warren Hinckle III, 28-year-old Ramparts editor, reported that the magazine has lost a total of about \$1.5 million to reach its present circulation of 250,000, including newsstand sales.

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"Speaking for Hinckle, who was not available for comment, Stone indicated that the March issue -- with a cover picture of Che Guevara, the Cuban revolutionary -- symbolized the 'iconoclastic bent' that had lost Ramparts advertising and financial support over the years.

"Stone declined to specify whether this included Edward M. Keating, wealthy Peninsula lawyer and founder of Ramparts, who was fired as publisher last year and promptly brought a pending suit against the magazine for \$215,028.33.

#### FUNDS

"We've lost a couple of important and financially significant investors, Stone said. One reason was our position on the Middle East war in which we tried to deal objectively with both sides. Also, our position on 'black power' -- saying that blacks deserve a voice in managing their own affairs -- hurt us tremendously.

"The magazine now needs upwards of \$100,000 just to keep things going, Stone said.

"But whatever happens, he added, it remains unheard of in the United States that a magazine of this bent could have lasted so long and achieved such a wide circulation."

The San Francisco Chronicle of March 14, 1968, contained a news article captioned, "Hopeful Note From Ramparts" which read in its entirety as follows:

"Things took a turn for the better yesterday for Ramparts magazine, the muckraking San Francisco-based monthly which has been unable to mail its March issue to subscribers because of money problems.

"We're hopeful now that the issue will be in the mails by the weekend, Warren Hinckle III, editor of the 6-year-old publication, told The Chronicle in a phone call from New York.

"Hinckle, who sent a begging telegram to subscribers last Saturday asking for contributions of \$10 or more, said he would make a formal announcement today about the controversial journal's new financial status.

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"Details may involve new investors in the publication, The Chronicle learned. The magazine has lost some \$1.5 million to achieve its present circulation of 250,000, including newsstand sales."

The March 22, 1968 issue of Time Magazine contained an article in its press section captioned, "Fiscal Limits of Iconoclasm", which read in its entirety as follows:

"The March issue of Ramparts was only part way out last week. Newsstand copies went on sale two weeks ago, but 145,000 subscription copies of the magazine were still piled up at the printers in Denver. Reason: Ramparts had run out of money. The post office wouldn't accept its checks, and its subscription-service company wouldn't produce the necessary address labels until a start was made toward clearing up debts of between \$20,000 and \$25,000. In desperation, Ramparts sent out telegrams and letters to selected subscribers, asking them to chip in at least \$10 a piece. The response was enough so that at week's end the magazines were being labeled and stuffed into mailbags.

"Still, Ramparts is far from rescued. Its overall deficit stands at about \$250,000; its editors put the blame on timid advertisers frightened off by the magazine's iconoclasm. This is true in part; its contents encourage people to imagine a CIA operative behind every bush--- or a Kennedy assassin. But Ramparts has had plenty of other troubles. After a furious intramural spat, it ousted Founder-Publisher Edward Keating. Total adulation of the **Black** Power movement, plus an article blaming the Middle East war on Israel, caused two other wealthy backers of the magazine to withdraw support.

"Trying to recoup, Ramparts is announcing its determination to shake off the yoke of advertising. From now on, it says, readers will have to assume cost of publication. Newsstand price will increase from 75¢ to \$1, a year's subscription from \$8.50 to \$15."

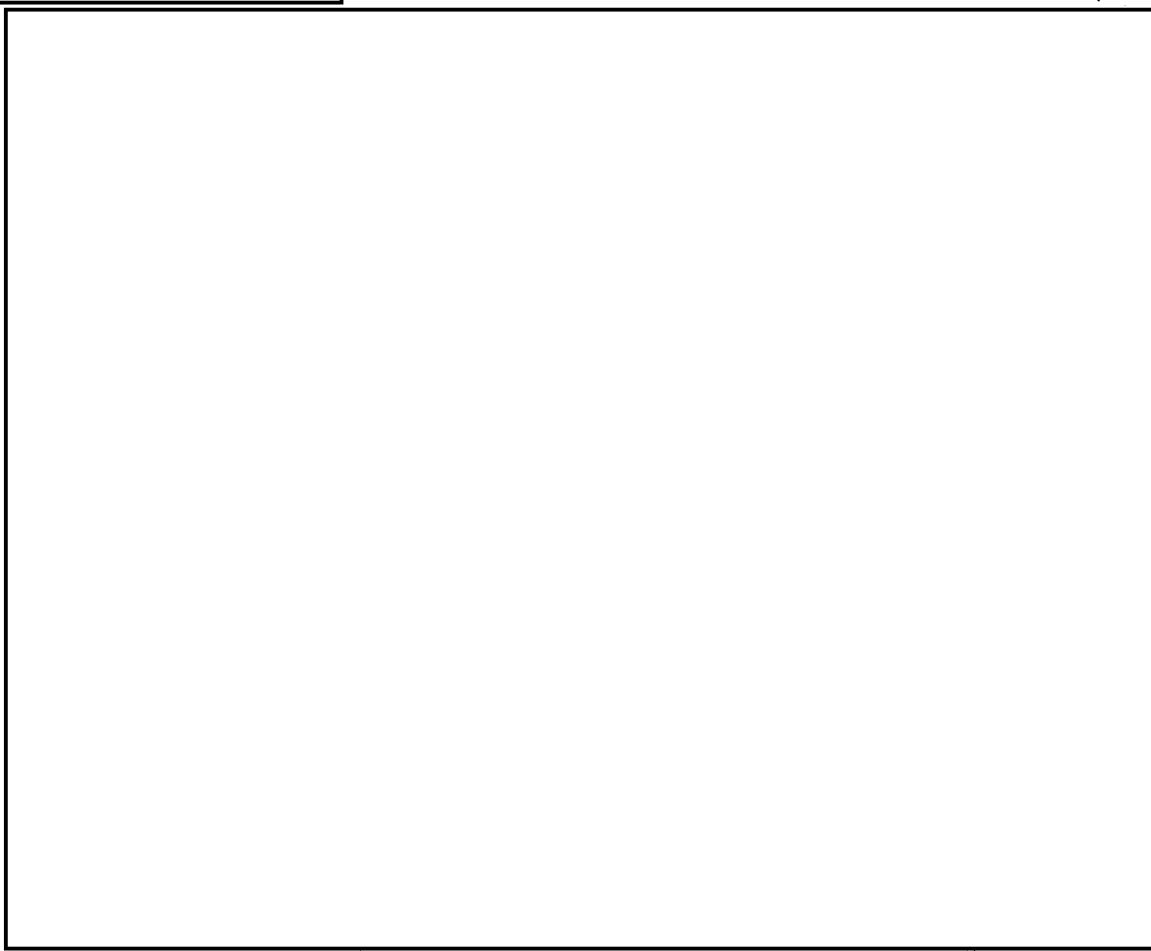
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 5/7/68

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The above-mentioned information is considered confidential and should not be made public without the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum.

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5/2/68.] q4

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[redacted]  
SF T-5  
1/24/68.

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On July 23, 1968. [redacted]

[redacted]  
SF T-6  
8/27/68.

fa

D. Financial Supporters:

The records of the California Division of Corporations, San Francisco, California, were checked on April 24, 1968. The file on "Ramparts" Magazine contained an application for approval of the Commissioner of Corporations to sell and issue the following securities in cancellation of indebtedness owed by "Ramparts":

<u>Name</u>	<u>Shares</u>	<u>Indebtedness</u>
HELEN HECK	2,500	\$25,000
ABIGAIL ROCKEFELLER	2,500	25,000
STANLEY SHEINBAUM	2,400	24,000
NICHOLAS SAMSTAG	500	5,000
	<u>7,900</u>	<u>\$79,000</u>

The transferees of this stock were further described in this application as follows:

HELEN CORA HECK  
HELEN HECK, 61 Jane Street, New York, New York;

ABIGAIL ROCKEFELLER, 16 Lexington Avenue,  
Cambridge, Massachusetts;

STANLEY SHEINBAUM, Center For Study of  
Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara,  
California;

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-459

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APPROX 1913-1919 NICHOLAS SAMSTAG, 717 Fifth Avenue, New York  
City, New York, formerly with "Time-Life Magazine  
Corporation."

who formerly resided at

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SF T-1  
5/16/68

Mrs. NICHOLAS ~~SAMSTAG~~, was described as being in his 50's and married to ~~SUZANNE ~~SAMSTAG~~~~ having previously been married to and divorced from [REDACTED] He has resided at 1 West 72nd Street, New York City, since May, 1964, and is the owner of a six room cooperative apartment at that address. Mr. SAMSTAG is President of Nicholas Samstag, Inc., 717 Fifth Avenue, New York City which was established about March, 1960 and is actively engaged as consultants on communications. Mr. SAMSTAG has also been described as a free-lance writer.

SF T-1  
5/16/68

STANLEY K. SHEINBAUM listed as a consulting editor in the September 7, 1968 issue of "Ramparts" is an Economist at the Center For the Study of Democratic Institutions at Santa Barbara, California, and a former campus director at Michigan State University, Vietnam Advisory Group.

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[SF T-8  
10/26/49.] *cm*

The May 20, 1965 issue of the Daily Californian, a student newspaper at the University of California, Berkeley, listed STANLEY SHEINBAUM as a speaker on Friday night's Vietnam Day schedule and described him as the designer of the Vietnam strategic hamlets. STANLEY SHEINBAUM was one of the speakers at a Vietnam Day Committee meeting on the campus of the University of California at Berkeley on May 21, 1965. SHEINBAUM denied credit for devising the strategic hamlets in South Vietnam and during his speech was critical of American foreign policy based on his five years experience in Vietnam for Michigan State University since 1960.

Special Agent of FBI,  
5/21/65.

On October 15, 1965, STANLEY SHEINBAUM was the first of the featured speakers at a meeting on the campus of the University of California at Berkeley sponsored by the Vietnam Day Committee's "International Days of Protest". SHEINBAUM was introduced as being with the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. During his speech he stated that foreign aid in Vietnam had failed and that 10 weeks previous a major change in U.S. Vietnam policy occurred. He stated that the United States is no longer trying to pacify the peasants or win them away from the Viet Cong, but instead are eliminating them by saturation bombing.

Special Agent of the FBI,  
10/15/65.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

E. General Activities:

A "Ramparts" questionnaire for University students was distributed at the Students For a Democratic Society (SDS) National Convention at Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, during the period June 9-15, 1968.

The SDS is characterized in the appendix hereto.

This questionnaire read in its entirety as follows:

"Dear Friend,

Ramparts, plans to publish a survey next September of students' grievances and the likelihood of their acting on those grievances at universities across the country. We're asking you, as a participant in the movement, to tell us what the situation is on your campus and in your community. The following questions are of a general nature. Please be as specific and as detailed as possible in your answers. If you have any available studies or research done, that you consider relevant or of interest, please include it as well. Feel free to include any information not directly asked for. We would also greatly appreciate the names and addresses of any good research people at your campus, who could provide us with further information. In writing an article of this nature we hope to give nationwide attention to your problems that would aid you in your struggle, as we did in the CIA story and the MSU story. You may return any information to Peter Stone or Roger Rappoport c/o Ramparts Magazine 301 Broadway, San Francisco, Calif.

"Does the university play a role in military or paramilitary research? Does it have ties to agencies of the Secret Government? Is it involved in any riot control or domestic counter-insurgency research? Does it sponsor blatantly imperialist programs overseas? Does it lend campus facilities to Army reserve units during the summer?

"What is known of its landholdings and investment policies? The composition of the Board of Trustees? If you have any public financial statements, annual university reports or fund raising proposals available, please include.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

"What are its relations with the community-at-large, black and white?

"What political approach are the black students taking?

"How wide is the gulf between campus radicals and the student government? What is the political composition of the faculty? What action do you think each group will be involved in this fall?

"Are there any special factors - repressive politicians, itchy police chiefs, extraordinary student leaders or faculty members - that bear mention?

"We realize that filling out this questionnaire will take time and energy, but the impact of our survey, we trust, will make your cooperation worthwhile.

"Yours in struggle, Ramparts."

[SF T-7  
6/20/68.] *J. P. Jones*

## II. OFFICERS AND EMPLOYEES

The September 7, 1968 issue of "Ramparts" listed the following editorial and business staff:

President & Editorial Director:  
WARREN HINCKLE III

Editor-in-Chief:  
ROBERT SCHEER

Art Director:  
DUGALD STERMER

Managing Editor:  
LAWRENCE M. BENSKY

*LAWRENCE BENSKY*

(u)

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Senior Editors:

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, PETER COLLIER, FREDERICK  
H. GARDNER, DAVID HOROWITZ, DAVID KOLODNEY, ELINOR  
LANGER, GENE MARINE, SOL STERN, WILLIAM TURNER, LEE WEBB.

Consulting Editors:

NOAM CHOMSKY, G.M. BEIGEN, MAXWELL GEISMAR,  
HOWARD GOSSAGE, TOM HAYDEN, CARL OGLESBY, STANLEY  
K. SHEINBAUM, DAVID WELSH.

Stanley Sheinbaum

Copy Editor:

JANIS CHAN

Military Editor:

DONALD DUNCAN

Assistant Editors

MICHAEL ANSARA, JOHN SPITZER

Staff Writers:

JOHN FRAPPIER, ART GOLDBERG, MARIANNE  
HINCKLE, ADAM HOCHSCHILD, STEPHEN SCHNECK,  
JUDY STONE

Advertising/Production Director:

JOHN WILLIAMS

Contributing Editors:

PAUL KRASSNER, Society; JEAN LACOUTURE, Southeast Asia; JUDY LEIFFER, SANDRA LEVINSON, JACK NEWFIELD, LESLIE TIMAN, New York; RICHELLE DASSIN, Paris; MARCUS RASKIN, Washington; JESSICA MITFORD, Oakland; LOTHAR MENNE, Frankfurt; MONIQUE MAURER, Munich; DAN SCHECHTER, SONIA ORWELL, London; HAROLD LIPSET, Criminology; MAURICE VIETLIN, Latin America; ISRAEL SCHAWARTZBERG, Ombudsman; FARREL BROSLAWSKY, Los Angeles; MAHMOUD ABDEL-HADI, Middle East.

Manuscript Editor:

DEBORAH SAMPSON

Research Department:

STEVE CHAIN, HARVEY COHEN, REESE ERLICH, KATHERINE FLEGAL, ROBERT MANDEL.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

CALif.  
Editorial Assistants:

ANNE DOWIE, KAREN GARRETT, ELLIS GOLDBERG, KAREN KAHN,  
MARY MORHOFF, BARBARA PATRICK, VAMPIRA.

CALif.  
Assistant to the President:  
ANNA WILLIS BETTS

CALif.  
Publisher:

FREDERICK C. MITCHELL

ROBERT KALDENBACH (Controller)  
MARC STONE (Associate Publisher)

CALif.  
MARGARET LIND  
BERT GARMISE (Circulation Consultant),  
G.M. FEIGEN (Generalist), ROY TIGNER (Assistant Controller), TUCK WEILLS (Circulation Manager),  
GUY GRAVENSON (Eastern Advertising Manager), NANCY TIBBON (Western Advertising Manager), ERVIN HILL JR., JEFFREY MARCHANT and LES CARR (Office Men), LESLIE CARR,  
CARRIE WELCH (Telephone Lady), MILLIE ELEY (Bookkeeper),  
MARGOT LIND (Administrative Assistant), HANNE BLUM (Subscription Lady), LIZ BUNDING (Subscription Lady's Helper).

The following individuals were on the payroll of  
"Ramparts" Magazine as of July 31, 1968:

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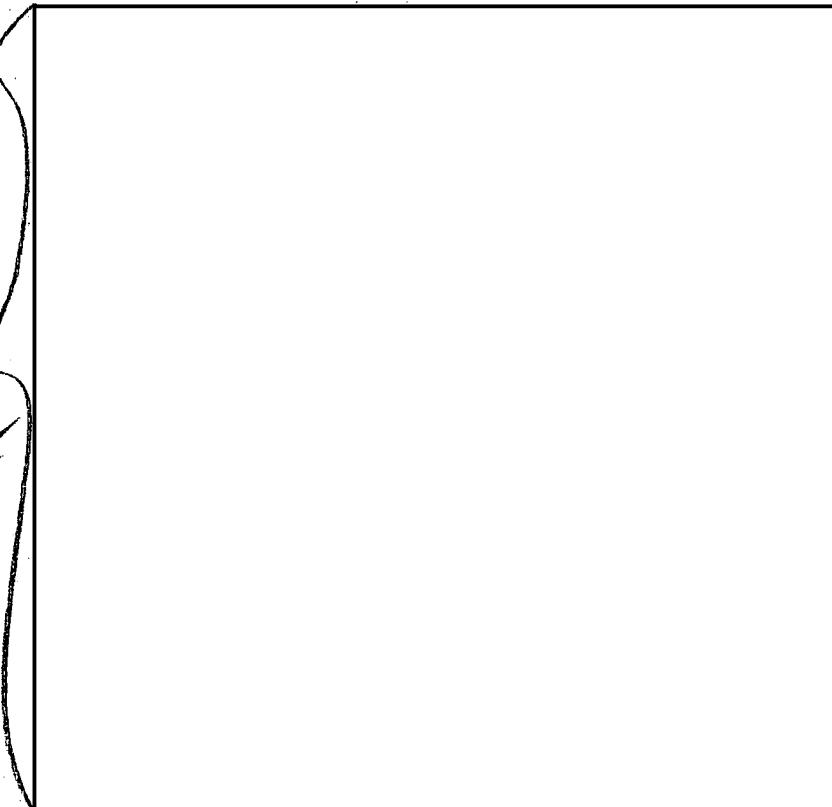
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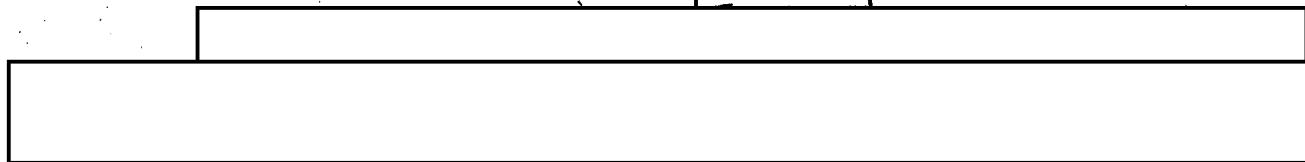
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b7C

*call*



[SF T-6  
8/27/68.] 4



[SF T-9  
9/30/68.] 4

III STATED AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

"Ramparts" Magazine in a letter dated May 1, 1968 to subscribers soliciting a renewal of their subscriptions to "Ramparts" as a bi-weekly, read in part as follows:

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

"Ramparts was the first national publication to consistently reveal the ribbon of lies supporting America's involvement in Vietnam; we stripped the curtain from America's "'invisible government'" by exposing the CIA's unlicensed intrusion into our domestic lives; we dared to write about the applications of the Catholic Church's political power; we warned, years before the Kerner report, that white racism was the base of America's racial problems; we blasted away at the corroded institutions of Cold War liberalism.

"Ramparts is now the largest left-of-center commercial magazine in the history of the United States -- indeed, the largest such publication in any English-speaking country. Circulation has grown in three years from 30,000 to 230,000 as Ramparts revived the orphaned American tradition of journalistic enterprise known as muckraking. However, Ramparts' muckraking was of a peculiar contemporary and intellectual style, reflecting the editors' belief that the greatest evils inflicted by man upon man are perpetrated essentially by people of goodwill, acting out of a view of themselves as missionaries to the lesser breeds abroad or at home....

"As Ramparts grew beyond the traditional circulation category of opinion journals and entered into the serious business of influencing American opinion on a mass basis, we found ourselves struggling with the financial problems of a large publishing operation. We also found that our sources of funds were limited in almost direct proportion to the independence of our editorial policies.

"Ramparts is in a crisis today precisely because it has been so effective. As it has broken one explosive story after another and taken unpopular stands on major issues, it has consistently lost both advertisers and investors. We suppose this was only to be expected. If Ramparts is to continually embarrass the Establishment, it is most unlikely that the Establishment will support it....

"It is an experiment that will help change America -- if we can find a proper way to finance it. We rejected out of hand the idea of selling out to any communications monolith on the grounds that while it might be possible for a CBS to own the Yankees without calling the plays, it could not be the same for Ramparts. And you can imagine what Madison Avenue thought of us.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

The big advertising agencies were frank about it: we were too tough for their clients. That left us with a continual search -- often a desperate scramble -- to find private investors to support our enormous growth.

"Let us be candid about our investment situation. Ramparts has never had a 'sugar daddy.' Our first publisher ran out of money quite early in the game and the editors have been dashing about the country between issues for several years now in the elusive search for operating capital.

"We were lucky enough to find many generous people who helped us along the way -- but we also discovered that investors are only human and the man who pays the piper will eventually expect to call the tune. Thus we have lost considerable financial support over Ramparts' sympathetic printing of those outraged voices of the ghetto that few whites can comfortably hear, or because we provided a platform for the disturbing protestations of our alienated youth, or for our insistence on objectively reporting an issue as emotionally charged as the Middle East conflict.

"In short, we learned that the price of taking the cliche 'independent journalism' literally could very well be the right to go out of business...."

"The new bi-weekly Ramparts -- with greatly expanded coverage of both the American elections and foreign affairs -- will also begin on June 1st. (Details of the new rate structure and our expanded editorial plans are on the accompanying sheet.)

"The editors' decision to escalate Ramparts' position in American journalism reflects their belief that the role of Ramparts is now even more demanding. The removal of Lyndon Johnson as the easy foil for almost everyone has immensely complicated the political situation. It is no longer enough to know what one is against. So in addition to our job of combination watchdog and gadfly, we will utilize our enlarged scope to help formulate answers about what America must stand for.

~~SECRET~~

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"The question you will help decide by renewing your subscription now, in advance, is whether America will continue to have a serious anti-Establishment press. But it is also a larger issue -- whether freedom can really be exercised in the masss media. This is, indeed, a fundamental question for American democracy -- for without the proliferation of independent magazines like Ramparts there will not be a consistent challenge of our presuppositions nor exposure of our foibles, and the text book description of a free press in America will remain a sham...."

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SF 157-459  
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IV. SUBVERSIVE RAMIFICATIONS

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Subversive Affiliations of  
Staff Members and Employees

[REDACTED]

[SF T-9  
9/30/68.] *fu*

The PW is a West Coast Communist  
newspaper published weekly in  
San Francisco, California.

[REDACTED]

*(C) u*

[SF T-10  
3/19/68.] *fu*

A characterization of the BPP  
is contained in the appendix.

[REDACTED]

*(f) u*

[SF T-11  
4/2/68.] *fu*

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-459  
EJO:cg

~~SECRET~~

LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

LERoy E. CLEAVER  
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER is Minister of Information for the BPP. He was on parole on April 6, 1968, when he became involved along with seven other Black Panther members in a shoot out with the police in West Oakland. His trial date on the charge of assassination with the intent to commit murder is set for November 17, 1968. CLEAVER is the author of a book entitled, "Soul-On Ice", and a guest lecturer on college campuses on racial problems. CALIF.

[SF T-9  
9/30/68.] *q u*

-27-

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SF 157-459  
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~~SECRET~~

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[REDACTED]

[SF T-12  
11/3/65 &  
12/7/65.]

44

[REDACTED]

[SF T-13  
11/6/65.]

44

A characterization of the VDC  
is contained in the appendix.

Records of the Oakland Police Department reflected that  
[REDACTED] was arrested on December 17, 1966 by the Oakland Police  
Department for interfering with an arrest.

[REDACTED]

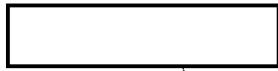
[SF T-14  
8/2/67.]

(R)44

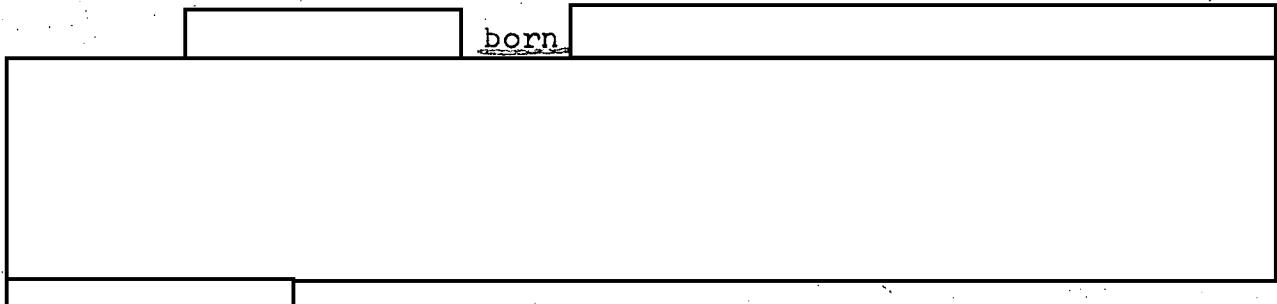
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[SF T-15  
2/15/67.] *ku*

A characterization of the PLP  
is contained in the appendix.

The Berkeley Anti-Draft Union  
was originated by the SDS in  
Berkeley during the Spring of  
1967.

[SF T-15  
2/15/67.] *ku*

ERLICH was a member of the Steering Committee of Stop  
the Draft Week and advocated obstruction and closing of the  
Armed Forces Induction Center at Oakland, California, confrontation  
with police and suggested tactics for causing civil disturbances  
during protests. This information was brought out during an  
interview of ERLICH which appeared in the November 7, 1967  
issue of the "Daily Californian" a University of California  
newspaper.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-459  
EJ0:cg

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A newspaper article appearing in "The State" newspaper on July 15, 1968, a morning newspaper published in Columbia, South Carolina, concerning the UFO coffee-house, indicated that it was the inspiration of a free-lance writer-editor, FRED GARDNER, now associated with "Ramparts" Magazine. Between September, 1967 and April, 1968, GARDNER opened the UFO and two other coffee-houses, one near Fort Leonard Wood and another at Killeen, Texas, near Fort Hood. The article indicated that GARDNER's purpose in starting the coffee-house was to give the soldiers a place to go where they could go and feel free to express their views and discuss the Vietnam War and other topics away from the watchful eyes of the military establishment.

Others, [Source advised] that in discussions with [redacted]  
he was of the opinion that the operation of the [redacted]

uX  
source

[SF T-16  
4/3/68.] *x a*

[SF T-17  
3/27/68.] *x a*

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

~~ART GOLDBERG~~

~~ARTHUR GOLDBERG~~

The August 8, 1966 issue of the San Francisco Examiner, contained an article captioned, "UC Firebrand Out of Jail, Still Militant", which read in part as follows:

"Arthur (Art) Goldberg, a firebrand among the leaders of the 1964-65 University of California Student demonstrations, said yesterday a stretch in jail hasn't mellowed his militant views.

"His thoughts about student movements and society in general have remained unchanged despite a 45 day sojourn in Alameda County's Santa Rita work farm near Pleasanton.

~~APPROX~~  "Goldberg, now 24 and a law student at Howard University in Washington, D.C., was released Friday. His 60-day sentence for his leading role in last year's '"dirty word" crisis on the Berkeley campus had been shaved by 15 days for good behavior, including a voluntary donation to a blood bank.

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"Less than 24 hours after regaining his freedom, he came across the Bay and marched in the San Francisco anti-war parade up Market Street, Saturday.

"He described himself as neither a Communist or Socialist but rather as a '"radical who believes that the existing society does not give an equal chance to people from all backgrounds".

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-459  
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[REDACTED]

[SF T-14]  
5/29/68.] *dc*

of the [REDACTED] attended a meeting  
[REDACTED] *(dc)*

[SF T-11]  
8/28/68.] *get*

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

\*~~HADJI MOHAMMED ABDUL HADI~~

HADJI MOHAMMED ABDUL HADI in 1963 was suspected by the Thailand Government of making an illegal shipment of 1,000,000 Japanese Yen (\$2,777 U.S.) into Bangkok from Hong Kong. HADJI MOHAMMED ABDUL HADI was then residing at Bandung, Java, Indonesia, under the name of Doctor FRANS GRUNECK.

[SF T-18  
1963.] *20*

*Calif.*

HADJI MOHAMMED ABDUL HADI was born May 28, 1899 at Vienna, Austria. He was registered as an intending immigrant to the United States since February 14, 1958, under the Austrian Quota with his wife and two minor children. HADI had become an Indonesian citizen and had embraced the Moslem faith. He was reported to be practicing medicine and specializing in cures of Venereal Disease and Abortions.

[SF T-19  
1963.] *21*

The September 13, 1968, issue of the San Francisco Chronicle contained an Associated Press article datelined Los Angeles which was captioned "SIRHAN 'Confession' Story Denied". This article read in its entirety as follows:

"The attorney for Sirhan Sirhan has denied a published report that Sirhan would say he shot Senator Robert Kennedy and explain why if his trial received national television coverage.

"Russell E. Parsons, who is defending the 24-year-old Jordanian accused of murdering Kennedy, said Sirhan ""made no such statement." Sirhan has pleaded innocent.

"The report, published in Ramparts magazine, was written by Mahmoud Abdel-Hadi, an Egyptian correspondent for Akbar Elyoum in Cairo. He said he had interviewed Sirhan's family, and was told that ""what Sirhan wants is quite simply publicity. He wants the major television networks to be allowed to broadcast the entire trial. If they'd do this, he says he will tell all."'

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-459  
EJO:cg

~~SECRET~~

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[redacted]  
[redacted] was born in [redacted]  
[redacted] and his parents are [redacted]

N.Y.

BLANCHE HOROWITZ was a member of the Sunnyside Section of the Queens County Communist Party in June, 1957. (c)u

[SF T-20  
6/13/57.] (c)u

PHILIP HOROWITZ was a member of the Sunnyside Section of the Queens County CP in January, 1960. (c)u

[SF T-20  
1/18/60.] (c)u

On February 21, 1958, the Sunnyside Discussion Group of the Queens County CP held a meeting at the residence of BLANCHE HOROWITZ at 39-07-44th Street, Sunnyside, Long Island, and among those present at the meeting was [redacted]

(c)u

[SF T-20  
2/24/58.] (c)u

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(S) (S) (S)

[SF T-21  
3/3/66.] (c)u

[redacted] was an executive member of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign (USC) which source described as a movement committed to the victory of the Vietnamese people against the war of aggression and atrocity waged by the U.S.

(S) (S) (S) u

[SF T-22  
11/17/67.] (c)u

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-459  
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~~SECRET~~

[redacted]  
[redacted] born [redacted]  
[redacted] who resided at [redacted]  
[redacted]

b6  
b7c

[SF T-23]  
12/2/65.] *✓ a*

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-459  
EJ0:cg

~~SECRET~~

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[redacted]  
[redacted] was arrested at a demonstration at the [redacted]

[redacted] attended an educational meeting of the [redacted]

(R)u

[SF T-14  
7/23/66.] (R)u

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-459

EJO:cg

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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was arrested by the San Francisco

Police Department

He was also  
arrested  by the Greene County Sheriff's

Office, Xenia, Ohio,

was one of several persons affiliated

[SF T-24  
8/19/66.]

*du*

A characterization of the YAWF  
is contained in the appendix.

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-459  
EJO:cg

~~SECRET~~

b6  
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[SF T-25  
2/26/68.] *fu*

[ ] attended a committee meeting [ ]

[SF T-14  
3/1/66.] *fu*

(R) *u*

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-459  
EJ0:cg

~~SECRET~~

GENE MARINE

GENE MARINE was one of the guest speakers at the 25th Anniversary celebration of the PW in San Francisco on February 3, 1962. *CALIF*

[SF T-26  
2/5/62.] *fu*

*CALIF.* [REDACTED] DOROTHY HEALEY, Chairman, Southern California CP District; STEVE MURDOCK, Political Editor and AL RICHMOND, Executive Editor of the PW. *(e)u*

In October, 1962, he was offered a job on the Editorial Staff of the PW. *(e)u*

[SF T-27  
1/5/62;  
10/12-30/62.] *fu*

[REDACTED] the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs in San Francisco on August 27, 1964. *(e)u*

[SF T-28  
9/3/64.] *fu*

A characterization of the W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of San Francisco are appended hereto.

[REDACTED] is a current subscriber to the PW. *(e)u*

[SF T-29  
7/5/68.] *fu*

~~SECRET~~

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SF 157-459  
EJ0:cg

~~SECRET~~

ROBERT SCHEER

CALIF.

"Human Events" a weekly newspaper published in Washington, D.C. in its issue of April 8, 1967, in a story captioned, "The Inside Story of 'Ramparts Magazine'", described its managing Editor ROBERT SCHEER as a former member of the pro-CASTRO Fair Play for Cuba Committee. It reported that SCHEER in 1966 ran for the Democratic Party nomination for U.S. Congressman and that his campaign manager was CARL BLOICE, a 28-year-old CP member who for several years had been on the Editorial Staff of the People's World, the West Coast Communist weekly, and had been elected to the National Committee u of the CP.

~~R APPROX~~

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A source advised [redacted]

CALIF.

[redacted] (R)u

[SF T-30  
2/5/68.]

(f)u

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

ISRAEL SCHAWARTZBERG

The July 10, 1968 issue of the New York Times, late city edition, Page 22, Column 3, contained an article entitled, "Fat Tiger Throws A Subpoena at Party". This article read in part:

The above mentioned article reveals that ISRAEL SCHAWARTZBERG was appointed as "Ombudsman Editor" of Ramparts magazine. To celebrate the appointment of SCHAWARTZBERG, ~~WARREN HINCKLE~~<sup>HH</sup>, Editor of Ramparts Magazine, flew to New York City from San Francisco, California, and gave a "subpoena party" at Ratners, Delancey Street, Restaurant.

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This article described SCHAWARTZBERG as a former basketball fixer, swindler, bookmaker, and jailhouse lawyer, at 54 years of age is free after having served a "Ping Pong Bit" (small and light), in Leavenworth Penitentiary.

This article also reveals that SCHAWARTZBERG has served 14 years behind bars and was released last month from Leavenworth where he served 18 months for conspiracy to bribe a witness in a narcotics case.

<sup>APPROX</sup>  On March 9, 1966, ISRAEL SCHAWARTZBERG was CALIF. <sup>APPROX</sup> found guilty in United States District Court, SDNY, on a charge of the crime of conspiracy to obstruct justice and suborn perjury. On March 30, 1966, he was sentenced KANS. to prison for two years.

The above mentioned article reveals that invitations to the party were by subpoena framed to appear like the real thing. HINCKLE, 29 years old, President and Editorial Director of the new, left, bi-weekly, said at this party that he had appointed SCHAWARTZBERG to his new post to hear complaints from the people about Government agencies.

SCHAWARTZBERG announced during this party that he would be filing a Federal Court Action on behalf of himself "and thousands of others similarly situated" to get voting and other civil rights for former convicts. He stated that "there was no good reason for it if you've paid your debt to society you should be given back all your civil rights".

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-459  
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~~SECRET~~

Referral/Consult

[redacted] was a member  
of the CP, USA. (S) u

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[SF T-31  
10/15/45.] & u

Referral/Consult

(S-3) (S)

[SF T-32  
8/59.] & u

House Report #378 of the Committee  
on Un-American activities de-  
scribed the 7th World Youth Festival  
as "Communist arranged".

[SF T-33  
6/3/59.] & u

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-459  
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~~SECRET~~

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[redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted] was born [redacted] at [redacted]

[redacted] I. F. STONE as a  
communist and the former Washington correspondent for the  
"New York Post" the "Nations", "PM" and the "Compass".

[redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted] attended the District Convention of the  
Young Communist League in Philadelphia in June, 1943, and  
in the session of June 20, 1943 was one of 50 members elected  
to the District Committee of the Young Communist League, (YCL).

The YCL has been designated by  
the Attorney General of the U.S.  
pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A Special Agent of FBI,  
6/20/43.

[redacted] (C) (u)  
[redacted] SF T-34  
1943. ] (u)

[redacted] (C) (u)  
SF T-35  
12/10/46. ] (u)

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-459  
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The "New Left Notes" Volume 1, No. 13, dated April 15, 1966, in an article by MIKE GOLDFIELD entitled, "NAC Minutes", LEE WEBB is identified as a member of the National Administrative Committee of SDS.

[SF T-36  
1/24/66.] quILL.

[SF T-37  
4/29/66.] qu

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-459  
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INDEX

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Name

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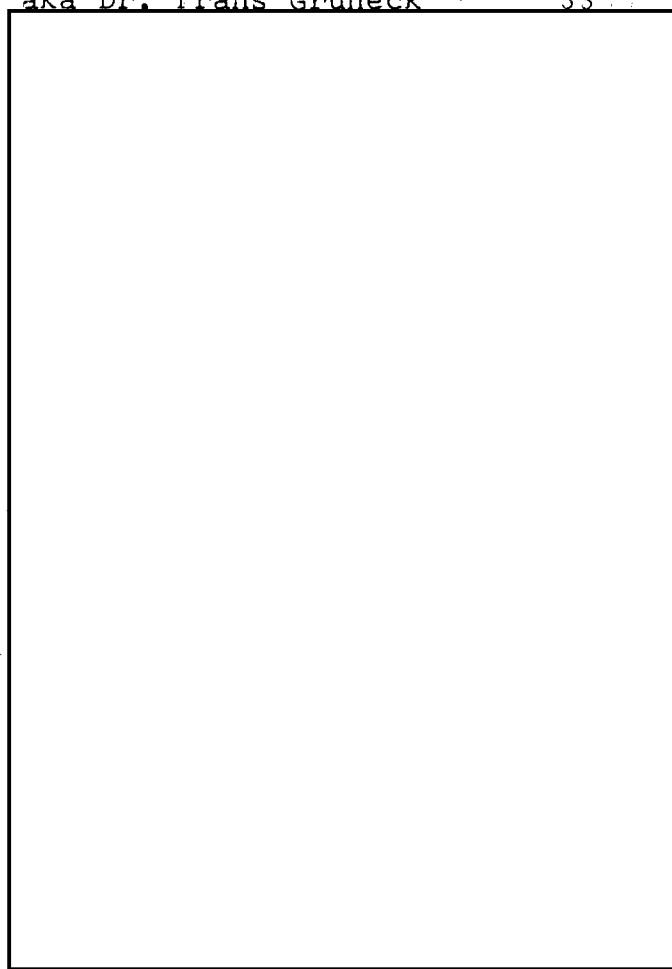
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Page(s)



CLEAVER, ELDRIDGE 20,21,27

GRUNECK, Dr. FRANS 20,21,  
aka Abdel Mahoud Hadi 33  
HADI-ABDEL, MAHMOUD 20,21,  
aka Dr. Frans Gruneck 33



~~SECRET~~

SF 157-459  
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~~SECRET~~

INEX

Name

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~~SECRET~~

1

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka  
Black Panther Party for  
Self Defense

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A source advised that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat police brutality, to unite militant black youth, and to determine the destiny of black communities. The political philosophy was taken from writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of Communist China and black militant writers.

In March, 1968, the name of the organization was changed to Black Panther Party (BPP).

The official BPP publication, "The Black Panther Party - Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent revolutionary program to end oppression of black people.

On February 17, 1968, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, announced merger of the BPP and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and bestowed title of Minister of Justice, BPP, upon H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC.

SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

NEWTON, aforementioned, is incarcerated in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, awaiting trial on charge of murder of an Oakland police officer.

Headquarters of BPP and Huey P. Newton Defense Fund are located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

APPENDIX

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CAMPUS VIETNAM DAY COMMITTEE,  
formerly known as the  
Vietnam Day Committee (VDC)  
Berkeley

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A source advised in May, 1965 that the VDC was founded in May, 1965 to organize the May 21-22, 1965 community "teach-in" on the University of California, Berkeley, California (UCB) Campus.

Public literature distributed by the VDC revealed that the purpose of the VDC was to mold public opinion to force withdrawal of the United States from Vietnam and to utilize dramatic, large-scale demonstrations in increasing public alarm about the Vietnam war.

A second source advised on [redacted]

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b7C

identified [redacted]

whom source [redacted]

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A third source related on September 29, 1966 that as of September 29, 1966. [redacted]

A fourth source on October 27, 1966  
identified [redacted]

Third source informed on April 18, 1967 that the activities of the VDC had been taken over by the Campus VDC, and there no longer was an off-campus VDC in Berkeley. Source related Campus VDC is a registered on-Campus organization with UCB. Source added that for the time being, Campus VDC is expected to remain dormant. However, its name and skeletal organization would be kept alive by the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) as a "standby organization" to be used only when necessary.

Third source identified [redacted]

Third source on April 24, 1967 identified [redacted]

Third source on February 6, 1967 identified [redacted]

APPENDIX

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~~SECRET~~PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A source advised on April 20, 1965, that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), formerly known as the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), held its first national convention April 15, - 18, 1965, at New York, New York, to organize the PLM into a PLP. The PLP will have as its ultimate objective the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

The "New York Times" City Edition, Tuesday, April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP. The PLP was described as an outgrowth of the PLM. Its officers were identified as MILTON ROSEN, New York, President, and WILLIAM EPTON of New York, and MORT SCHEER of San Francisco, Vice Presidents. A 20-member National Committee was elected to direct the party until the next convention.

According to the Article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962, by Mr. ROSEN and Mr. SCHEER after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist Line".

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor", a bi-monthly magazine, "Challenge", a monthly New York City newspaper, and "World Revolution" a quarterly periodical.

The May, 1968 issue of "Challenge", page 23, states that, "This paper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life- where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, the police, courts, and the entire government on every level".

A second source advised on May 15, 1968, that the PLP utilizes the address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn 1, New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 617, 1 Union Square West, New York City.

APPENDIX

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SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
San Francisco Division

A source advised on August 1, 1960, the San Francisco Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was formed approximately in the early part of 1938, and the Oakland Branch of the SWP was formed in the latter part of 1938.

A second source advised on October 26, 1959, that the name of the Oakland Branch of the SWP was changed to the Oakland-Berkeley Branch of the SWP.

A third source advised on April 16, 1968 that the San Francisco Branch and the Oakland-Berkeley Branch of the SWP follow the policies and directives of the National SWP with which they are affiliated.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

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~~SECRET~~STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

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W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)  
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

A source advised in January, 1968, that the DCA is going to be reactivated in the San Francisco Bay Area, chapters will be organized, the national DCA policy will be followed, and while they will claim they are not a Communist Party (CP) front they will definitely be a part of the CP.

A second source advised in February, 1968, that

[redacted]  
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I. Berkeley DuBois Club, also known as Campus DuBois Club

A third source advised that in January, 1968, the Berkeley DuBois Club was approved as a student organization on the campus of the University of California at Berkeley.

II. San Francisco DuBois Club

A fourth source has advised that the San Francisco DuBois Club commenced holding meetings in January, 1968, and continued to do so through February and March, 1968, at a variety of locations throughout the city.

III. San Francisco State College DuBois Club

A fifth source advised that in March, 1968, an "Intent" to organize a club on the campus of San Francisco State College was filed with the Dean of Activities but so far formal application for official approval had not been executed.

APPENDIX

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YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE  
(known in San Francisco Bay Area as  
Bay Area Young Socialist Alliance  
also known as  
Bay Area Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance,  
Bay Area Committee for the Young Socialist)

A source advised on May 16, 1960, that the Bay Area Young Socialist Alliance (BAYSA) was formed in February, 1958, as the Bay Area Committee for the Young Socialist (BACYS). At a later stage in its development prior to adoption of the name BAYSA, the organization was known as the Bay Area Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance (BACYSA).

The source advised that as a result of a national convention held April 15-17, 1960, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the BAYSA became a branch of the national organization to be known as the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and will carry out in the Northern California area the policies of the YSA.

The source advised April 18, 1968, that the BAYSA is currently active and is composed of two locals: The San Francisco YSA and the Berkeley YSA.

The source advised on April 18, 1968, that the BAYSA, although ostensibly an independent organization, is in reality controlled by the San Francisco Branch, Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Oakland Branch, SWP.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

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YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960 issue of the "Young Socialist" (YS), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This issue stated that this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the Founding Declaration of the YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles of revolutionary socialism.

On March 10, 1967, a source advised that the YSA was formed during 1957, by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The source further advised that the YSA has recently become more open about admitting that it is the youth group of the SWP and that an SWP representative has publicly stated that the YSA is the SWP's youth group.

The National Headquarters of the YSA are located in Rooms 532-536, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

On October 31, 1967, a second source advised that at the 22nd National Convention of the SWP held in New York City from October 26, 1967, to October 29, 1967, it was stated that the YSA remained as the main recruiting ground for new SWP members.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A characterization of "Young Socialist" is set out separately.

APPENDIX~~SECRET~~

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1.

"YOUNG SOCIALIST"

The "Young Socialist" is a magazine published monthly, except during the summer, by the Young Socialist Alliance. The October, 1964, edition, the initial edition utilizing the magazine format, relates that this magazine succeeds the "Young Socialist" newspaper in an effort to provide "more facts on more general issues than a small newspaper can".

The "Young Socialist" newspaper was formerly described as the official organ of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

The "Young Socialist" maintains office space at the headquarters of the YSA, Rooms 532-536, 41 Union Square West, New York City, and has a mailing address of Post Office Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

A characterization of the YSA is set out separately.

APPENDIX

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APPENDIX

1.

YOUTH AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

A confidential source advised on March 29, 1965, that the Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), formerly known as the Anti-Fascist Youth Committee, was established by the Workers World Party (WWP) in the summer of 1962, to bring college and high school youth into the periphery of WWP activities and thereby gain recruits for the organization.

A second confidential source advised on October 23, 1964, that a flyer distributed by the YAWF describes that organization as a militant organization of young workers and worker-students for combating war and fascism.

The first source advised on March 9, 1966, that the YAWF maintains its headquarters at 58 West 25th Street, New York City, and publishes a magazine called "The Partisan".

APPENDIX

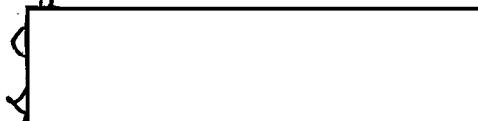
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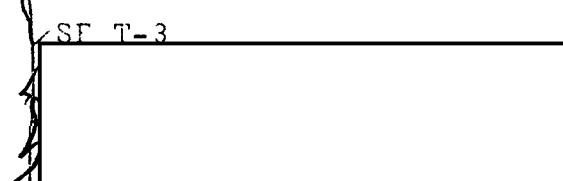
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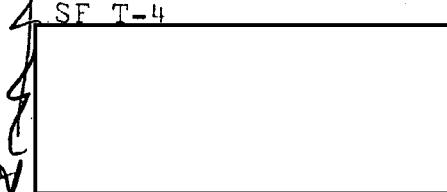
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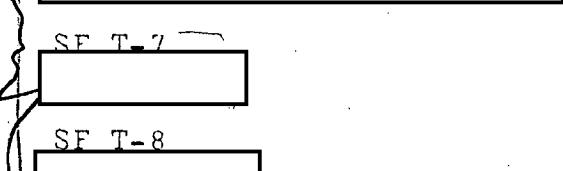
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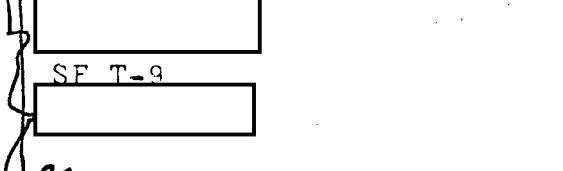
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